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A GROUP OF ROMAN IMPERIAL PORTRAITS AT
CORINTH

III. GAIUS AND LUCIUS CAESAR

(PLATES X-XI)

WE have seen that the two members of the Corinthian group already discussed, *i.e.*, the Augustus and the Tiberius,¹ are in all probability to be considered as companion pieces, inasmuch as they are both represented under the guise of priest or pontifex. Of the two works to which we now turn our attention this holds true to an even greater degree. In fact they are so closely bound together through affinity of subject, type, scale, technique, etc., that it seems to me essential that they be here treated beneath a single heading, a conclusion amply justified, I think, by a glance at PLATES X and XI. That the youths represented by these portraits are blood relations, probably brothers, is self-evident; that they are also members of the family of Augustus seems equally assured by their remarkable resemblance in feature to the Augustan type. In fact this similarity is so striking that the better preserved of the two portraits (PLATE X), which was also the first member of the group to come to light, was immediately upon its discovery dubbed "the young Augustus,"—an attribution which we did not seriously question until after the unearthing of the genuine Augustus at a considerably later period of the campaign. For convenience of reference, therefore, it seems to me advisable to anticipate somewhat the argument expounded in the following pages, in so far, at least, as to indicate my belief that the portraits before us represent respectively Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the grandsons of Augustus. The more complete of the two works, as representing the elder of the pair, I shall designate Gaius, the other, of which the bust only is preserved, Lucius.

As was the case with respect to those members of the group already discussed, the Gaius and Lucius were both discovered

¹ Cf. the first two articles of the present series, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, pp. 142-159 and 248-265.

within the limits of the Roman basilica so often mentioned, the former just within the long southeast wall of the building (cf. *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 143, fig. 1), the latter nearly opposite, but six or eight meters farther west.

The Gaius was found lying apparently undisturbed and just as it had fallen, directly beneath the same stratum of broken Roman tile, fragments of marble revetment, and miscellaneous débris in which, it will be remembered, the statue of Augustus was discovered (cf. article on the Augustus, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 144). The figure rested flat upon its back in a nearly horizontal position and seems to have settled gently downward through the rotting planks of the flooring of the upper story, without suffering any damage other than that incident to the fall from its original basis. To this first overthrow, which may or may not have taken place prior to the general ruin of the building, are, perhaps, due the few injuries sustained,—*e.g.*, the breaking of the right arm, which was found *in situ* beside the body, and the loss of the nose and the left forearm. The stratum of Roman tile, etc., which overlaid the statue was at this point rather thinly spread, while directly above it succeeded the usual accumulation of early Byzantine strata. Over the head and torso of the figure passed a rough wall of the post-classical period; its base, grounded in the stratum of broken tile, was formed of several huge architrave blocks, marble, and of the Ionic order. These seem to have originated from some unknown building farther up the slope. The statue itself rested at a depth of between four and five meters.

The portrait bust which I have designated as Lucius Caesar came to light at a considerably lower level, rather more than five meters beneath the surface and only a meter above hardpan. Nevertheless it had not enjoyed the undisturbed repose of its kindred portrait, but had clearly been tampered with subsequent to its fall. It was found lying on its back in a fairly thick stratum of late Roman débris which appeared to have been worked over in Byzantine times for the sake of the marble or other valuables it might have contained. The statue must have toppled from its pedestal and been more or less shattered when the basilica fell to ruin, at which time also the legs and lower part of the torso were lost, being in all probability hacked up and burnt for lime. The upper part of the torso, however, massive and not easily breakable, was mutilated and battered, after which it was apparently dragged to one side and rolled into a shallow trench in that portion

of the débris which had already been plundered. Subsequently it was covered over and forgotten.

The statue of Gaius Caesar, though considerably over life size, is yet on a slightly smaller scale than the Augustus, the difference in height between the two—assuming the restoration of the feet of

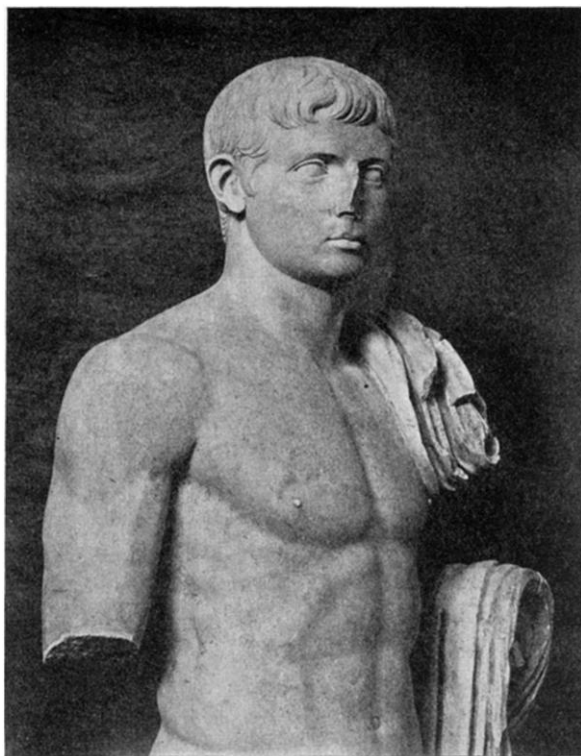


FIGURE 1.—GAIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

the latter—being not less than .25 m.¹ The figure is preserved to its full height, the entire composition, save only the left arm, having been cut from a solid block of marble; this forearm, as is evident from PLATE X, was worked separately and attached by

¹ Dimensions are: height 1.98 m., height with plinth 2.07 m., length of right leg .995 m., from plinth to navel 1.195 m., from navel to chin .52 m., length of neck, front, .095 m., length of face .185 m., width of face .17 m., height of forehead .05 m., length of nose .07 m., width of mouth .055 m., length of right foot .32 m.

means of an iron dowel, the stump of which has expanded through oxidation and split both the arm and the drapery about it. Save for the loss of the nose, the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and the left forearm already mentioned, the statue is in almost perfect condition; a few unimportant fragments of drapery, however, have disappeared—three or four from the roll of the *chlamys* at the left shoulder, and another large piece from behind the upper part of the left arm.¹ The upper rim of the left ear is also slightly chipped and a shallow dent may be observed in the top of the head towards the front. Upon the upper surface of the plinth, and more particularly between the feet of the figure, there remain numerous traces of a coating of coarse stucco painted a dark red; no other unmistakable traces of pigment survived.² It is to be noted, however, that the lips and eyeballs are of a distinctly lighter shade than the remainder of the flesh surfaces and hence indicate clearly that they were at one time protected by a coating of paint; the difference in tone is sufficient to be marked even in a photograph (cf. Fig. 1).

As in the other members of the group, the material here employed is a fairly good grade of Pentelic marble in which may be detected an occasional silvery vein of schist; the block was so manipulated, however, that these do not appear noticeably in a front view of the figure. The back is further marred not only by the usual roughness of finish, but also by a considerable flaw in the stone itself in the region of the left shoulder. At this point the back is asymmetric, the left side being much flattened and roughened.

The statue is a nude male figure in heroic pose, the light *chlamys* being carried on the left arm and shoulder in the manner seen in the Hermes of Atalante.³ The weight of the figure is supported on the right leg, while the left is flexed at the knee and advanced.

¹ This is shown by a slight break in the drapery above, the rough working of the surface of the skin, and an "attachment boss" on the upper arm.

² On the front of the plinth between the feet appears a cutting for one half of a strong hook clamp, by means of which the plinth was made fast in its basis.

³ Cf. Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, fig. 41 and p. 56. The author remarks: "The work has been referred back to a Lysippic original, but it seems more likely that it is an Attic adaptation of the eclectic school now (*i.e.*, middle of third century B.C.) springing into existence." The type is preserved for us in a number of replicas (cf. *Gazette Arch.* II, 1876, p. 84, notes 1 and 2) and seems to have been popular and widespread in the late Hellenistic period. The work itself is of Pentelic marble and slightly over life size.

The left arm is bent at the elbow and the forearm is extended supporting the folds of the *chlamys* which fall along the thigh and leg and conceal the upper portion of the heavy supporting tree trunk which rises from the plinth behind the left heel. The right arm hangs naturally at the side with the hand half closed and the thumb forward, and seems to have held an attribute of some sort. This is indicated by a small hole drilled into the palm of the hand opposite the space between the tips of the third and fourth fingers. In consideration of the type of the figure I judge that the attribute could only have been a *caduceus*, of bronze and probably gilded. Many analogies may be quoted for the pose and the draping of the *chlamys*, most of which serve to indicate that we have here the usual "Hermes type" so characteristic of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture,¹ a type repeated with almost infinite variation in the later imperial portraiture.² The head is turned to the right, the gaze level and direct, and though not of great intensity the general expression may be characterized as that of alertness in repose; a slight Augustan frown is noticeable between the eyes. Like the other members of the Corinthian group, the statue gives no evidence of having been exposed to the weather, and must have stood under cover, either against a wall or within a niche.

The technique seems much like that of the portraits already discussed. The drill was used sparingly on the flesh surfaces, but much more freely in the undercutting of the drapery which is nevertheless most plastically and skilfully rendered, even to the indication of the leaden draping-weights at the lower edges.³ Slight traces of drilling are apparent at the inner corner of each eye and at the corners of the mouth, the parting of the lips being rendered by carrying the "drill line" across from corner to corner (cf. Fig. 2). Elsewhere on the body the drill was used only in the hair about the pubes, where is to be noted a most unusual and archaic technique in that the hair is done in round "snail-shell"

¹ In this connection it is interesting to note the passage of Athenaeus which tells us that Alexander liked to appear as Hermes (Athen. XII, p. 537E).

² Cf., for example, Commodus as Mercury in the Mantua museum, Labus, *Museo di Mantova*, III, pl. VI, p. 34 f.; Augustus as Mercury in the Museum of Rennes, *Gazette Arch.* I, 1875, pl. 36, p. 135; Tiberius as Mercury in the Naples museum Reinach, *Rep. de la Sculp. Grec. et Rom.* I, p. 568, pl. 925, No. 2351, also Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.*, II, 1, p. 172, No. 15; Nero as Mercury in the Glyptothek, Munich, Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 577, pl. 938, No. 2397, also Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 399, and III, p. 57, etc., etc.

³ Cf. the Hermes of Praxiteles for a similar detail.

curls, the centre of each being indicated by a distinct circular boring. The flesh surfaces are smoothly worked but unpolished, while the face and neck seem rather more carefully finished than the rest of the body. The modelling is good but generally lacking in fluidity and warmth, and although quite correct it appears somewhat hard and academic. The modelling of the face, though



FIGURE 2.—GAIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

generalized, possesses, nevertheless, a degree of subtlety which shows up effectively when viewed in the proper light; yet we must admit that the forms are rather cold and lacking in detail, a trait characteristic of the period to which the work clearly belongs. The Roman age is further revealed by the careless treatment of the feet, which are broad, flat, poorly modelled, and out of proportion. These imperfections, though scarcely pardonable, are to be explained by the fact that the statue almost certainly occu-

pied a position well above the eye of the spectator and was intended to be viewed only from the front.

The hair lies close to the scalp after the Polyclitan fashion, and is divided all over its surface into flat waving tresses which seem as if drawn on it but never stand out separately in relief; the locks across the forehead are particularly stiff and careful in their arrangement and, as in the case of the Augustus and the Tiberius, seem to follow a fixed iconographic scheme. Upon the top and back of the head the hair is very summarily treated. The eyes are fairly wide, with gaze directed very slightly downward and well to the right (cf. Fig. 2); the upper lids overlap markedly at the outer corners, and both the upper and lower are rendered sharply and in high relief, which in the former amounts almost to undercutting. These details of the hair and eyes just mentioned derive undoubtedly from a bronze technique. The eyeballs, though set well back in their sockets, are rounded and fairly prominent, the latter characteristic being accentuated by their unusual whiteness (cf. Figs. 1 and 2) due to the protecting layer of paint with which they were once coated. The brows are slightly arched and marked by a distinct ridge dividing them from the forehead—again reminiscent of bronze. The frown between the eyes, together with the broad forehead and a certain level gaze, gives the face its strongest resemblance to the Augustan type.

Attention must finally be called to a remarkable point of technique which has until recently received but scant attention from writers on ancient sculpture. I refer to indications which tend to prove that mechanical "pointing devices" were used in the classic period,—a subject upon which the statue under discussion serves to throw a ray of light.¹ On the rear of the left arm, where the

¹ Cf. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (edit. 1915), pp. 32-35, . . . "In fact we can see such *puntelli* upon several unfinished works of sculpture. But these mostly belong to Hellenistic or Roman times; and even on works of this later period they are not always to be seen, while on earlier monuments they seem to be almost, if not entirely, unknown. . . . In later times, when genius and inspiration were less frequent, and art was more a matter of academic study, we find that the use of finished clay models became as universal as it is at the present day, and that their form was transferred to the marble by the same mechanical process that is now in use. The *puntelli*, however, seem, from their comparatively limited number, to have been rather a help to the sculptor . . . than a purely mechanical means of producing a marble facsimile of the clay model." For a further discussion of this subject, with full references, cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. Gr. et Rom.*, s.v. *sculptura*, V. *La confection de la statue.—La maquette*. The most interesting

finish is far from careful, occur two conical protuberances rather less than 1 cm. in height; each takes the form of a truncated cone with a dot or sharp dimple-like sinking in the exact centre of the truncated area, and both are situated on the outer curve of the arm at a point where they would have been largely concealed by the drapery. The larger, situated on the upper arm directly above the elbow, has a height of .01 m. and a maximum diameter of .015 m., while the other, situated on the forearm in the same horizontal plane with the first but about .06 m. in front of it, measures .007 m. in height and .01 m. across. There is no doubt in my mind that these protuberances are typical *puntelli* which, because of their inconspicuous position, were forgotten in the final working over of the statue when many others were finally removed. If such is indeed the case, the statue was taken directly from a model by means of a process more or less mechanical.

Considered as a whole, it is quite clear that our portrait statue is of the same school and period as the Corinthian Augustus, and like the latter is academic and generalized in treatment. It displays also that same Greek trait of idealization so clearly marked in the former work, while on the technical side it would seem to have been modelled after a bronze original, or at least have been done under the influence of a strong school of bronze workers.

The description of the Gaius Caesar just given will apply almost equally well to the Lucius, its companion piece in the group, due allowance being made, of course, for the more mutilated condition of the latter. The scale in each case is identical, the type similar, and the technique very like.¹ Of the Lucius the head, shoulders, and upper half of torso alone are preserved, the main break occurring above the navel and extending diagonally downward from right to left. The figure, like its companion, was doubtless cut from a single block of marble, although it is clear that the right arm, due probably to an accidental crack or break,

example of mechanical reproduction that has come down to us from antiquity is doubtless the marble athlete in the Uffizi (cf. Bloch, *Röm. Mitt.* VII, pp. 81 f.; Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, p. 21, No. 25; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, pp. 393 f.), which is an almost exact replica of the famous bronze athlete from Ephesus (cf. Benndorf in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, I, pp. 181 f., particularly p. 194, "Es handelt sich also um eine mit dem mechanischen Punktiersystem erzeugte Copie.")

¹ The dimensions are: greatest height .95 m., length of neck, front, .085 m., length of face .175 m., width of face .18 m., height of forehead .04 m., length of nose, approximately .07 m., width of mouth .052 m.

was repaired or restored by means of a hook-clamp spanning the fracture across the lower part of the biceps (cf. PLATE XI and Fig. 3). It should be noted in this connection that there were found at about the same level as that from which came the bust itself and within the north aisle of the basilica a right hand and

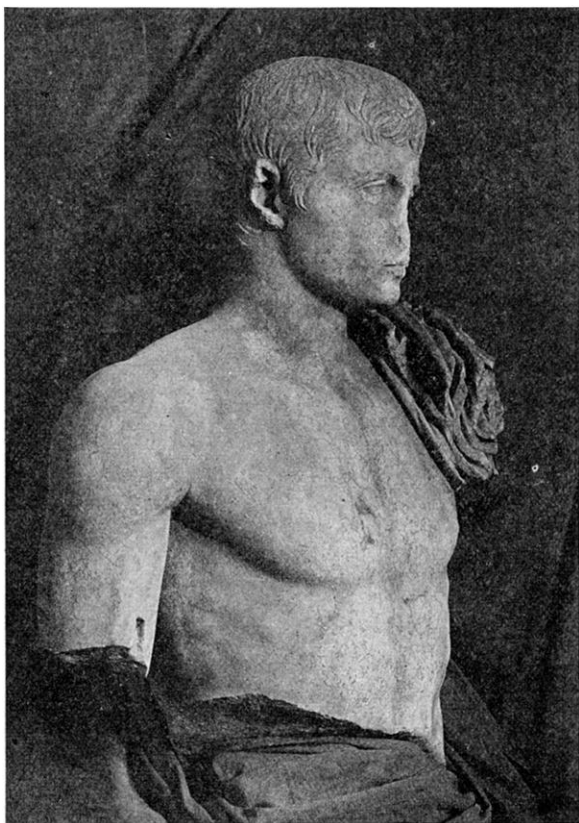


FIGURE 3.—LUCIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

wrist which fitted with an elbow and forearm discovered in the eastern portion of the building. Since these fragments are of Pentelic marble and of the same scale and technique as the portrait under discussion, it is practically certain that they belonged to it. Although the first finger and thumb are lacking, the hand is seen to be contracted as if to hold an attribute, probably a *caduceus*, its presence being vouched for here also, as in the case of the

Gaius, by a small hole drilled in the palm opposite the tips of the third and fourth fingers. The face unfortunately is considerably battered, the nose being almost entirely lacking save for the bridge between the eyes; the upper lip is also abraded and flattened while the lower is considerably chipped; the same may be said of the brows near the bridge of the nose, as also of the lids to a certain extent; the front of the right cheek is somewhat scarred, almost the entire rim of the right ear is lacking, and that of the left, together with the cheek just before it, shows several ugly dents. The roll of the *chlamys* upon the left shoulder is badly battered, the front of the torso is worn and roughened in places, and the entire surface of the marble is mottled with ground and root stains. No traces of artificial coloring survive.

The material employed is the usual fine-grained Pentelic marble, in which a thin vein of silvery schist marks the diagonal break through the left arm just below the shoulder.

The original statue was doubtless of a "nude Hermes type" very similar to that of the Gaius, and judging from the heightened left shoulder and the play of muscles on the same side of the torso, one may safely conclude that the weight of the body was carried on the left leg. The head is turned slightly to the left, and the gaze though level and direct lacks the maturity and assurance observable in the expression of the Gaius; in spite of mutilations the Augustan frown is to be seen between the eyes. It seems to me that the bust had in all probability not been exposed to the weather prior to its overthrow. The rather summary workmanship of the back surfaces at least proves the figure so stood that the rear was concealed from view.

The technique shows no notable departure from that of the Gaius. Although the characteristic drilling is observable in corresponding positions, the flesh surfaces, perhaps, seem rougher and less carefully done, and no especial care is lavished on the face. On the whole the modelling is the same, although even more generalized and lacking in detail. The hair is treated in the same close-fitting Polyclitan style but with much less care and definition, although here again the arrangement of the locks across the forehead seems to follow an iconographic scheme. The entire top and back of the head, however, is simply blocked out in the rough. The eyes are less widely opened than are those of the Gaius, while the gaze is directed slightly downward and to the left; a considerable difference is also apparent in the rendering of

the eyeballs which here show a distinctly impressionistic treatment, particularly in that their surface is flattened and less sharply differentiated from the surrounding lids. The latter show no undercutting. These variations of technique, though slight in themselves and, perhaps, to be attributed to mere carelessness on the part of the sculptor, seem to me, nevertheless, significant. A careful comparison of the two portraits will show, for instance, that the impression of greater youthfulness imparted by the Lucius is directly traceable to the expression of the eyes, and this in turn is due to the impressionistic treatment of the eyeballs. Other and less obvious indications also tend to prove that in this portrait the sculptor sought to represent a youth of less mature years; for example, the face is shorter, more rounded and less massive, the forehead is lower, the mouth less wide and firm. In brief, the task imposed upon the sculptor of this statue was that of representing a youth several years the junior of the Gaius, and this he has accomplished by perfectly definite means. There can be no doubt that the lads are brothers and that the more mutilated portrait figures the younger of the two.

Since it would interrupt the logical continuity of my subject to take up at this point the problem of the positions occupied by these two portraits in the great group to which they certainly belonged, I wish here merely to call attention to a few significant details bearing on this question. Upon comparison it is evident that, despite their striking similarity in most respects, they show a subtle variation in pose and rhythm which is exactly that which might be expected had they been designed to balance each other on either side of a central figure or figures. For example, although the arrangement of drapery is similar in each, the weight of the body rests on the right leg in the case of the Gaius, but on the left in the Lucius; the former turns his head and gaze to the right, while the latter looks to the left. Thus, although the position of the arms was probably identical in each, that delicate symmetry and rhythm in grouping was obtained which was so generally demanded by the fine artistic sense of antiquity.

The foregoing paragraph is intended as a mere suggestion in passing. I shall return to this point in my discussion of the reconstitution of the group as a whole.

By way of introduction to the iconography of the two portraits before us a brief résumé of the personal history of Gaius and Lucius may not be amiss.

Sons of Agrippa and of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, Gaius was born in 20 B.C. and Lucius three years later.¹ Upon the birth of the latter both were adopted by Augustus² who conferred upon them the name "Caesar," and later overwhelmed them with honors before they were legally of age to receive them.³ Spoiled by the early distinctions which they had received, the youths became haughty and overbearing⁴ even to the extent of opposing Augustus himself; in this, however, they kept within bounds and gave him no occasion for withdrawing his favor.⁵ From regard for Augustus the Roman people in 5 B.C. chose Gaius *consul designatus*.⁶ Augustus himself created Gaius pontifex and Lucius chief of the college of augurs,⁷ and had them consecrate a temple and preside at certain games.⁸

Gaius saw his first military service in Germany under Tiberius, and in his eighteenth year he was sent to the East under the title of Proconsul of Asia.⁹ Here, with the assistance of mature and able advisors, he conducted successful campaigns against the Nabataeans, Parthians, and Armenians.¹⁰ He was named consul in 1 A.D., marched once more into Armenia, and conquered a large part of the country.¹¹ There he was surprised during a parley with the enemy and received a wound from which he never entirely recovered. Enfeebled in body and spirit he determined to

¹ Cf. Dio, LIV, 18.

² Cf. Suet. *Augustus*, 64.

³ Cf. Tacitus, I, 3, and Dio, LIV, 10, 1.

⁴ Cf. Dio, LV, 9.

⁵ Among other honors, Augustus erected a porticus and a basilica in their name (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29). The porticus was one of the more important monuments built by Augustus during the latter part of his reign (cf. Van Deman, 'The Porticus of Gaius and Lucius,' *A.J.A.* 1913, pp. 14 f.).

⁶ Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 64; *Mon. Ancy.* III, 1 f.

⁷ Cf. Dio, *Frgs.*, Morelli's edit. of 1800, p. 6.

⁸ Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 29; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 551 f.; Dio, LIV, 26, and LV, 8. According to Beaudouin, 'La Culte des Empereurs dans les Cités de la Gaule Narbonaise,' article in *Annales de l'enseignement supérieur de Grenoble*, III, p. 69 (Grenoble, 1891), the famous temple at Nemausus, known as the "Maison Carrée," was built in their honor before they died. In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1919, pp. 332-340, is a discussion of the traces of the inscription on the Maison Carrée, in which it is argued that the temple was built by Agrippa between 20 and 12 B.C., and dedicated to Gaius and Lucius between 1 and 5 A.D.

⁹ Cf. Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, I, 177.

¹⁰ Cf. Velleius Paterculus, II, 101-102; Dio, LV, 11; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 12; *Augustus*, 94.

¹¹ Cf. Zonarus, p. 539.

live in private in Syria, but at the urgent request of Augustus he abandoned his command and started homeward. He got no farther than Lycia, however, where he died in 4 A.D. at the age of twenty-three.

His body was brought to Rome together with that of his brother Lucius who, at the age of eighteen, had died at Massilia one and a half years before while on his way to take command of the Roman troops in Spain.¹ In honor of their young patron Lucius the people of the colony of Pisa erected to him a sumptuous cenotaph and established a yearly festival which was later dedicated to Gaius also.² At Cos games were established in his honor, as well as a regular cult with attendant priests.³ These two prompt deaths which opened to Tiberius the succession to the throne gave rise to the suspicion that their author was none other than Livia, the mother of Tiberius.⁴

In attacking a problem of iconography such as that now before us the first step is necessarily an investigation of the numismatic sources, which ordinarily may be expected to lay the foundation for the attribution. In the case of Gaius and Lucius, however, the portraits which have come down to us on coins are comparatively few in number and of mediocre iconographic value; the two heads are for the most part represented in small scale facing each other on the same side of the coin, often combined with the head of Julia as well. With the exception of a few notable coins of Gaius, all the pieces bearing portraits of the young princes were struck outside Rome, and this in turn may further account for the inferior rendition of the features.

Thanks to the kindness of Mr. G. F. Hill of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, I am enabled to publish the more important coins of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, here for the first time gathered together (Fig. 4). Of the coins figured the two most important are without doubt the *aureus* and its corresponding *denarius* (Fig. 4, A and B), the only coins of Gaius

¹ His funeral was celebrated with great magnificence, and altars, temples, and statues were erected in his honor (cf. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, II, 3, p. 1127). He received divine honors in Mitylene, and in Pergamum together with Gaius; Acerrae erected a temple to both as heroes (cf. H. Heine, 'Zur Begründung des röm. Kaiserkultes,' *Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 177).

² Cf. Norris, 'Cenotaphia Pisana,' in *Graev. Thes.* VIII, 3.

³ Cf. H. Heine, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. Dio, *Frag.* VIII; Tacitus, I, 3; Pliny, VII, 145.

which are known to have been struck in Rome.¹ Although these have usually been dated 17 B.C., Mr. Hill² shows that they should rather be assigned to 5 B.C., the date of Gaius' *deductio in forum*; since this later date is now generally accepted, the iconographic



FIGURE 4.—PORTRAITS OF GAIUS AND LUCIUS CAESAR ON COINS.

value of the portraits is thus immensely increased. The heads on both coins are practically identical, of noble form and ideal cast of

¹ For the *aureus*, A, cf. G. F. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, pp. 165-168; Brit. Mus. Cat., *Roman Republican*, II, p. 42, No. 4468; Cohen, *Méd. Imp. Romaines*, I, p. 113, No. 1, pl. V. For the *denarius*, B, cf. Hill, *loc. cit.*; Brit. Mus. Cat., *Roman Republican*, II, p. 42, No. 4469; Cohen, *op. cit.* I, p. 113, No. 2, pl. V.

² *Historical Roman Coins*, *loc. cit.*

countenance reminiscent of a Greek athletic type which, while clearly Polyclitan, is yet somewhat influenced by the Olympia pediments;¹ in addition they show plainly the influence of the Augustan type of features, and upon comparison with a profile view of the portrait at Corinth (Fig. 5) they manifest a general resemblance which can scarcely be fortuitous. The silver *denarius* (Fig. 4 c), with heads of Gaius, Julia and Lucius on the reverse was struck at Rome probably between 17 and 13 B.C.² It is hence almost too early to be of iconographic value, quite aside from the fact that the scale of the portraits is such as to render them practically worthless in this respect. The three bronze coins of Clazomenae, Corinth, and Pergamum respectively (Fig. 4, Nos. 1, 2, and 3) upon which appear busts of Gaius and Lucius face to face offer little information bearing upon our subject, save only, perhaps, that a certain "family resemblance" may be expected between the portraits of the youths wherever found.³ Of the remaining coins figured, the four bronzes of Thessalonica, Pergamum, Tralles, and Aphrodisias (Fig. 4, Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 respectively) show each the head of Gaius facing to the right;⁴ due to the larger scale of these portraits we are justified in drawing certain conclusions as to the type of face which they present. It is apparent, I think, that a marked similarity exists between Nos. 5, 7, and 8; in each the forehead is rather low, the nose large and straight, the mouth firm with a slight droop at the corners, while the chin, though rounded and well marked, is comparatively small and receding; moreover the eye is large and wide, and looks forth boldly from beneath a slightly frowning brow. That such clear resemblances are observable in portraits from cities so widely separated as Tralles and Thessalonica is sufficient proof that the type represented was both well established and widespread; furthermore, as a type prevalent in the East, it might logically be expected to appear at Corinth. A comparison of the

¹ Cf. a bronze head in the Glyptothek, Munich, published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, taf. 14, 3.

² Cf. Cohen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 116, No. 1; also Brit. Mus. Cat., *Roman Republican*, II, p. 95, No. 4649.

³ For these coins cf.: 1. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Ionian*, p. 31, No. 120; 2. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Corinth*, p. 62, No. 508, pl. XV, 15; 3. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, p. 140, No. 250, a coin of Tiberius.

⁴ For these coins cf.: 5. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Macedon*, p. 116, No. 73, a coin of Augustus; 6. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Mysia*, p. 139, No. 246; 7. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Lydia*, p. 344, No. 117, pl. XXXVI, 1; 8. Brit. Mus. Cat. *Caria*, p. 40, No. 98.

coins in question with the portrait at Corinth (cf. particularly Figs. 5 and 1) indicates that such was, indeed, the case; we see in the latter the same rather low forehead, the large eyes beneath a slightly frowning brow, the large nose, the firm mouth, and the same rounded chin, small, and lacking in prominence. The

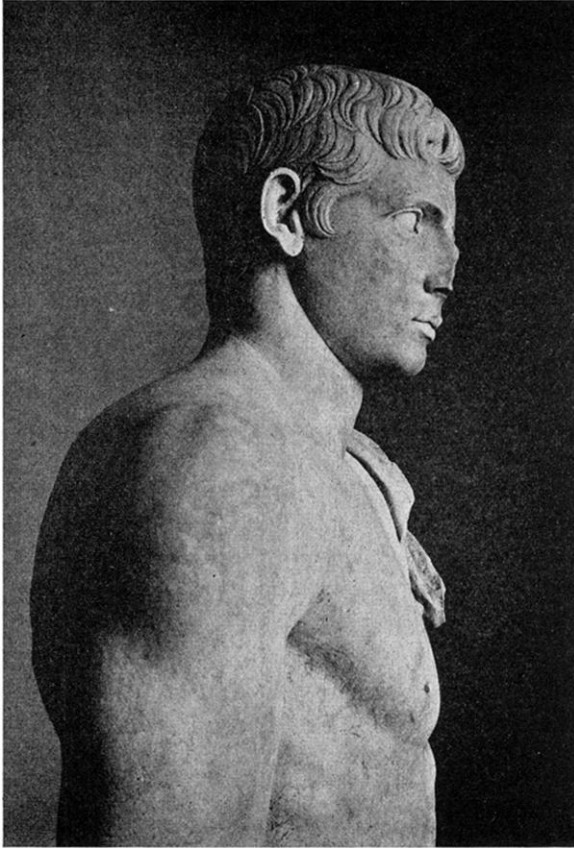


FIGURE 5.—PROFILE OF GAIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.

Pergamene coin, No. 6, presents a rather different type, more ideal, and decidedly Greek in feeling; nevertheless, here also a certain resemblance appears in the line of the forehead, nose, and mouth. The remaining coins, Nos. 4 and 9, with portraits of Lucius Caesar are worthless for iconographic purposes.¹ Never-

¹ For these coins cf.: 4. Bronze, Pergamum, the reverse of No. 6; 9. Bronze, Tralles, cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lydia*, p. 345, No. 123, pl. XXXVI, 3.

theless, comparison of the former with its obverse, No. 6, shows again a striking "family resemblance" between the portraits of the two youths, in this case, however, distinctly stylistic; the influence of the Augustan type is also quite apparent.

So far, then, as concerns the numismatic evidence adduced, we must admit that of itself it is inconclusive; yet we are justified, it seems to me, in basing upon it the following assumptions. First, that portraits of Gaius and Lucius, where found together, will show a marked resemblance one to another. Second, that they will be more or less strongly influenced by the well-known Augustan type. Third, that, in the case of Gaius at least, there existed in the East a widespread and clearly individual type, the salient characteristics of which are easily discernible; and further, that the influence of this type is quite apparent in the portrait at Corinth.

Turning now from numismatic criteria let us consider the remaining evidence for the attribution. This, though less direct, is far more conclusive.

Gaius at the time of his death was twenty-three, and Lucius died at the age of eighteen. With these ages the two portraits at Corinth seem to agree exactly. The figure of Gaius is, as shown above, clearly the elder by several years, and yet the face in spite of its comparative maturity can scarcely be that of a man of more than twenty-three.¹ Further, arguing from the presumptive resemblance of the princes to other members of their immediate family whose features are well known to us—a resemblance clearly indicated even in the coins—we find that in this instance also the case for the Corinthian portraits is remarkably strong. Turning first to their father Agrippa, we discern at once a distinct similarity between his portraits and those of the youths at Corinth,—a similarity not merely assumed to have existed, but vouched for by Macrobius.² Compare, for example, our Figures 1 and 3 with the bust of Agrippa in the Louvre;³ in all three the cheeks and lower part of the face are extremely alike, although the chin of Agrippa is stronger and more prominent. The most striking

¹ That these portraits probably do not represent the young Caesars as of a period *prior to their death* will be demonstrated hereafter in my discussion of the date of these works.

² Macrobius, *Sat.* II, 5,—*Idem* (Augustus) *cum ad nepotum turbam similitudinemque respexerat, qua representabatur Agrippa, dubitare de pudicitia filiae erubescibat.*

³ Cf. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pl. 174.

likeness, however, is that observable in the mouth, lips, and cheek of the Gaius (Fig. 1). The close affinity shown by the Corinthian portraits to the Augustan type is so palpably self-evident and has been so frequently mentioned in the foregoing pages that I must crave the reader's indulgence for reverting to it again at this point; I wish, however, by the citation of specific analogies to remove any possible ground for doubt. It is to be noted particularly in the following comparison that the most striking resemblances reside in the upper half of the face,—in the brows, eyes, forehead, shape of the skull, and even in the general arrangement of the hair across the forehead to a truly remarkable degree;¹ further, the resemblances, though found equally in each of the Corinthian portraits, are in general more convincing and more easily discernible in the Gaius than in the Lucius, due, of course, to the better preservation of the former. Compare, then, PLATE XI and Figure 2 with a head of Augustus in the Boston Museum,² Figure 2 with the head of the Augustus of Prima Porta,³ Figure 3 with the head of a portrait in the Museo Nazionale,⁴ PLATE XI with a colossal head in the Vatican,⁵ Figure 1 with a toga-clad portrait in the Villa Borghese,⁶ and PLATE XI and Figure 2 with the bust of a statue in the Vatican.⁷ Since many another and equally convincing analogy might be drawn, it is only necessary in concluding this topic to call attention to the self-evident relationship between Gaius and Lucius and the portrait of Augustus at Corinth.⁸

Before passing on to a general consideration of the varied and heterogeneous collection of ancient portraits upon which attempts have been made at different times to foist the names of Gaius or Lucius Caesar, it is well to summarize briefly the results already obtained. In the first place, then, the argument from probabil-

¹ Cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 356,—“The beautiful curved mouth of Augustus, and the fine abundant hair, combed somewhat boyishly over the forehead, where it separates into three distinct strands, are characteristics which reappear more or less markedly in other members of the Julio-Claudian family.”

² Cf. Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 167.

³ Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 171.

⁴ Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 173, left.

⁵ Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 169, a.

⁶ Hekler, *op. cit.* pl. 165, b.

⁷ Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon*, II, 1, taf. III, left.

⁸ Cf. Pl. XI and Fig. 1 with pl. VI in the article on Augustus, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921.

ity, in its cumulative effect, is well-nigh conclusive. We have here the portraits of two youths who were clearly brothers; the portraits are companion pieces, of identical type, style, size, and technique; they were found within the limits of the same Roman building at nearly equal depths and were certainly set up together at one and the same time; one of the youths, represented as in the early twenties, is clearly several years older than the other. These facts of themselves would be amply sufficient to suggest in the strongest possible manner the attribution already made,¹—but when in addition we note also that the features of each portrait show not only the most unmistakable similarity to those of Augustus but also a clear resemblance to those of Agrippa as well,—that with these portraits were found others, of Augustus himself and Tiberius, works of the same style, material, and technique, and all most assuredly belonging to a single great imperial group, the conclusion that the two portraits can only represent Gaius and Lucius Caesar is inevitable. It is further confirmed in striking manner by the numismatic evidence. We may, therefore, accept the attribution suggested, proceeding thence to note any confirmatory evidence discernible in other portraits supposed to represent these princes.

Of the so-called portraits of Gaius and Lucius listed by Bernoulli,² few are accessible to students in adequate reproductions, photographic or otherwise, and fewer still are of any iconographic significance, due to the fact that the identification in almost all cases is based on very slight evidence; a fancied resemblance to Augustus, stylistic conformity to the portrait type of the early empire, mere youthfulness and loftiness of mien, have often in themselves been considered sufficient ground for fixing upon a youthful male portrait the name of Gaius or Lucius. Of the six or eight pairs of portraits mentioned by the German scholar one only—the two busts of children in the Museo Chiaramonti³—is known to me, and this has since been shown to belong to a considerably later period.⁴ I can say little more of the single portraits. The head of a youth, called Gaius, No. 365, in the Museo

¹ Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 133.

² *Op. cit.* II, 1, pp. 133–137.

³ Cf. Amelung, *Sculp. des Vat. Mus.*, I, taf. 61, Nos. 417, 419.

⁴ Strong, *Rom. Sculp.* p. 367, and pl. CXVII,—“The two busts, . . . 417 and 419, so long misnamed Gaius and Lucius Caesar, belong to the Flavio-Trajanic period.”

Chiaramonti,¹ shows no resemblance whatever to the portrait at Corinth and is probably somewhat later, if one may judge from the treatment of the hair. The gems are equally unsatisfactory. The two in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris² do not, in the first place, portray brothers, nor do they further show any similarity to the portraits at Corinth.

To Bernoulli's list, however, I would add the following works, several of which are more important:

1. Relief on the so-called "altar of the Lares" in the Uffizi Gallery, dated 2 A.D.³ Augustus occupies the centre of a group of three persons, with Livia on his right and on his left a young man, who is, perhaps, to be identified with one or the other of the two princes, more probably Lucius, inasmuch as Gaius was at this time in the East. Comparison of this portrait with the two at Corinth (particularly Figs. 1, 3 and 5) reveals a striking resemblance in type of face,—a similarity which extends even to details, as, for example, in the eyes, mouth and chin. Indeed, the "family likeness" here discernible is not to be denied, and we can only regret that the scale of the photograph of the Florentine relief is such as to preclude the possibility of determining to which of the Corinthian portraits it is more nearly akin.

2. Portrait head of Lucius in the Worcester Art Museum.⁴ According to the *Bulletin*, this head is a companion piece to another in the Metropolitan Museum wrongly identified as a likeness of Tiberius in his youth; both heads are executed in the same kind of marble and were found at the same time and in the same place; further, the unmistakable resemblance between the personages proclaims them members of one family. The *Bulletin* continues: "From a study chiefly of portrait-coins and portrait-gems we believe it likely that these heads represent Caius Caesar and Lucius Caesar." Comparison of the portrait at Worcester with the works in Corinth is interesting; yet a sure

¹ Cf. Amelung, *op. cit.* I, taf. 58.

² Cf. Babelon, *Cat. des Camées Antiq.* Gaius, p. 114, No. 247, pl. XXV, Lucius, p. 114, No. 248, pl. XXV; Chabouillet, *Cat. Gen. des Camées*, Nos. 204, 205; Duruy, *Hist. des Rom.* III, cut p. 747.

³ Cf. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, p. 73, No. 99; Strong, *op. cit.* p. 74; Photograph Alinari, No. 1163; Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 45, No. 102; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Oberitalien*, III, p. 218; Michaelis in *Jb. Arch. I.* 1891, p. 229, No. 23, fig. 10.

⁴ Cf. *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, V, No. 3, October 1914, p. 12, plates on pp. 4 and 5.

identification of the former with either one of the latter seems scarcely possible. To be noted, however, is the similarity in the arrangement of the hair across the forehead exhibited by the two Lucii.¹ On the other hand, the mouth of the Worcester portrait with its delicate Augustan curve is more nearly approached by that of the Corinthian Gaius, although here, of course, allowance must be made for the more damaged condition of the face of the Lucius. On the whole it seems to me that there exists at least a probability that the person represented by the two portraits is the same.

3. Portrait head of Gaius, called "the young Tiberius," in the Metropolitan Museum.² Due to the obvious similarity between this head and the portrait at Worcester, the comparisons drawn above will apply here equally well, and the same ambiguity is apparent upon comparison with the portraits at Corinth. The general contour of the face, the forehead, brows, and chin resemble those of the Gaius rather than of the Lucius (cf. Figs. 2, 5 and 1), whereas the mouth is very like that of the Lucius (cf. pl. XI and Fig. 3); nevertheless I should not hesitate to identify this portrait with that of Gaius at Corinth provided only that the hair across the forehead were at all similar. Under the circumstances, therefore, I can offer nothing more than a "probable identification." That the bust in the Metropolitan Museum represents Tiberius seems to me highly improbable.

4. Bronze statue of Gaius in the Metropolitan Museum.³ Allowing for the difference in technique and effect of bronze and marble, and having taken into due account the youthful and immature forms of the bronze portrait, I think it quite probable that the latter represents the boy whom we see just grown to manhood in the Corinthian Gaius. A comparison of the two in profile discloses many points of resemblance,⁴ while in full face⁵ the greatest similarity exists in the tapering outline of the countenance, the shape of the chin and mouth, the broad low forehead, and the rounded dome of the skull; there is also a certain likeness in the brows and eyes. Here again the arrangement of the hair across

¹ Cf. our pl. XI, with the *Bulletin*, pl. on p. 4.

² Cf. *B. Met. Mus.* IX, No. 3, March 1914 pp. 60-61, figs. 2 and 3; also Miss Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, p. 248, No. 55, fig. 151.

³ Cf. Miss Richter, in *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 121-128, pls. I-VI; also in the *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, p. 246 f., No. 57, fig. 150.

⁴ Cf. *op. cit.* pls. V and III, with our Fig. 5.

⁵ Cf. *op. cit.* pl. VI, with our Fig. 2.

the forehead gives strong confirmation to the identification proposed. Miss Richter, in discussing the bronze in the Metropolitan Museum,¹ concludes that it is a Greek work done probably in the eastern half of the Roman Empire, and observes most aptly its importance in that it shows that at this comparatively late date there were still Greek artists, in no sense mere copyists, who were thoroughly imbued with the idealizing tendencies of the earlier Greek sculpture. This same observation holds true even more strikingly of the Corinthian portrait, since in the latter the course of this idealization lies in the direction of the classic Greek athletic canon rather than in that of the semi-orientalized Hellenistic tradition.

5. Portrait head, marble, in the Capitoline Museum, formerly called Caligula,² but identified by Studniczka as Gaius because of its resemblance to Agrippa.³ The cut of this portrait given in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* is on too small a scale to admit of fruitful comparison with the Corinthian portrait; it seems, however, to be of a rather different type, although showing manifest resemblances, *e.g.*, in the shape of head and face, and in the brows and mouth. The arrangement of the hair across the forehead is quite different.

6-9. With the head in the Capitoline Studniczka links four other so-called portraits of Caligula, to wit,—a head of green basalt in the same museum,⁴ a head in the Uffizi,⁵ a mail-clad portrait statue in the Naples Museum,⁶ and a marble head in the Villa Albani,⁷ and identifies each as a portrait of Gaius.

10. Marble portrait head of some young member of the Julio-Claudian family, found in Sussex.⁸ This can scarcely represent Gaius or Lucius.

11. Cameo in Berlin bearing a portrait of a young man of pronounced Augustan type, yet clearly not Augustus.⁹ Furtwängler, comparing it with the *aureus* of Gaius (Fig. 4 A), concludes that

¹ Cf. *op. cit.* p. 123.

² Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 305, No. 2.

³ *Arch. Anz.*, 1910, col. 532 f., figs. 1 and 2.

⁴ Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 304, No. 1.

⁵ Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 306, No. 11.

⁶ Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 306, No. 9.

⁷ Cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, p. 305, No. 5.

⁸ Cf. Haverfield, *Arch. Anz.* 1911, cols. 306-308, fig. 12.

⁹ Cf. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, taf. XLVII, No. 51,—II, p. 227, No.

it is a portrait of the latter,—a conclusion borne out by its evident resemblance to the Gaius at Corinth.¹

From the foregoing it is clear that but slight confirmatory evidence for the identification of the Corinthian portraits is to be derived from a study of other supposed likenesses; indeed, the identification of each and all of the latter is based upon grounds so infinitely more hypothetical than is that of the marbles at Corinth that the evidence of iconographic resemblance ought clearly to be adduced in the opposite sense. Nevertheless, a strong mutual confirmation is, perhaps, to be admitted in the case of the Corinthian portraits and the relief in the Uffizi, and in that of the former and the bronze in New York, as well as the cameo in Berlin. Further, if the pair of marble busts in Madrid so highly praised by Bernoulli² were available in adequate reproductions for comparison with the portraits at Corinth, I feel sure that the mutual confirmation would be even more striking.

To anyone, therefore, who, with unprejudiced mind, has followed thus far the course of my argument for the identification of the Corinthian portraits, it must seem that the case in favor of the proposed attribution is complete. There can be no doubt that these portraits represent Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

Before passing on to a consideration of the remaining works of the Corinthian group a few words must be said as to the probable date of these portraits,—a question which logically arises at this point. In the first place, then, is there any known historical fact which would account for Gaius and Lucius having been thus honored at Corinth?

As to the number of statues and busts erected to the honor of these princes throughout the empire, there is every reason to believe that it was considerable. As the adopted sons of Augustus and the clearly designated successors to the throne, their rank was second only to that of Augustus himself, and when the latter, as it were, set the fashion by the early bestowal of numerous and extraordinary honors, cities, colonies, and individuals were not slow to follow. This, as might be expected, was particularly true of the eastern half of the empire, a fact clearly demonstrated by the number of coins struck with their portraits throughout the East.³ Furthermore the extraordinary power with which the

¹ Compare Fig. 5, with the gem cited.

² *Op. cit.* II, 1, p. 134.

³ *Vid. supra.*

youthful Gaius was clothed as Proconsul of Asia must surely have furnished occasion in that whole region for the erection of numerous monuments in his honor; this may be assumed the more particularly since to Lucius there was set up a statue in Nicomedia although he had never visited Asia and was at the time but fourteen years of age.¹ The example of Nicomedia was doubtless followed in other cities of the Orient, yet the portraits of Gaius must always have been greatly in the majority.

As to Greece itself there is every reason to suppose that here also the princes were signally honored. Indeed, statues of Gaius and Lucius in Athens are known to us through inscriptions; the former was represented in the guise of the youthful Ares,² while a statue of the latter was placed above the gateway of the Roman Agora.³ Since Corinth was at this period of greater importance than Athens, at any rate commercially, and since, moreover, it represented the chief station on the direct route from Rome to the East, it is certain that Gaius sojourned there for a time while on his way to take command in Asia. He was, therefore, well known to the Corinthians and doubtless well liked. Hence his portrait was sure to have been included in the great imperial group, the erection of which was projected if not already under way at this very time.⁴ Further than the very general considerations just mentioned I am aware of no definite historical references which might either account for the appearance of these portraits at Corinth or serve to date them accurately. I think, however, that certain valid conclusions in this sense are to be drawn from the sculptures themselves.

We have already seen that there is good reason to believe the portrait of Augustus at Corinth was set up not long before 2 A.D., while that of Tiberius was, perhaps, erected shortly after the death

¹ Cf. Perrot, *Explor. Arch. de la Galatie et Bithynie*, I, p. 4.

² Cf. *C.I.G.* I, 311.

³ Cf. *C.I.G.* I, 312; also Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, p. 186,—“Above the pediment or gable there was formerly a pedestal which, according to the inscription *C.I.A.* III, 445, supported a statue of Lucius Caesar.”

⁴ I wish to call attention to the fact that here also we have a striking confirmation of the distinction involved in the bestowal of the name Gaius upon the more complete and carefully worked of the two youthful portraits; *i.e.*, since Gaius was known personally to the Corinthians, a more accurate and more finely finished portrait would naturally be demanded by them than would be deemed necessary in the case of Lucius. Moreover the sculptor, who was most certainly a Corinthian, had in all probability himself seen Gaius.

of Gaius in 4 A.D.¹ Since the portraits of Gaius and Lucius belong to this same group they must, therefore, have been erected at about the same time. On grounds of probability, however, I think it unlikely that either of the princes would have been honored at Corinth before the visit of Gaius, whereas thereafter the probability would have been greatly increased, and further, that directly after the death of Gaius this would hold true to a much greater degree. We know that the body of Gaius was conveyed with great pomp to Rome from Asia Minor, and here again the route must certainly have lain through Corinth. What more natural, therefore, than that, in addition to the temporary manifestations of grief and respect, the Corinthians should at this time have decreed the setting up of a memorial in the form of a portrait statue,—not only of Gaius whom they knew and truly mourned, but also of Lucius who had died but a short two years before? That such was, indeed, the case is impressively confirmed by the very manner in which the youths are represented. For while the Augustus and Tiberius of Corinth appear in the dress of everyday life, engaged apparently in a common religious rite, the two youths stand forth in heroic nudity, in the guise and posture conventionally assigned to Hermes. At this early period of the empire they would, I believe, scarcely have been so represented during their lifetime; at any rate I am aware of no contemporary nude statue of Augustus for example—or of any other member of the imperial family—which can be shown to have been set up before the death of the person represented.² Furthermore it is scarcely probable that statues would have been erected to either Gaius or Lucius after the death of Augustus in 14 A.D.; in fact I think that honors of this sort would have ceased within a comparatively short time following the death of the princes, and most probably after the due period of mourning, when Tiberius had been clearly designated as the successor to the throne. A dead prince is soon forgotten,—and all the more quickly when his follower in the succession is known to have been his enemy.

¹ Cf. the articles on Augustus and Tiberius in the preceeding numbers of the *A.J.A.*, pp. 142 ff. and 248 ff.

² But it must be admitted that in Athens and elsewhere the young princes would seem to have received at least semi-divine honors before their death; cf. for example an inscription in Athens, *C.I.A.*, III, p. 496, 444a, in which Gaius is called the "son of Ares," "Ἀρης υἱόν." This inscription was not dedicated after the death of Gaius, but very shortly before, probably in 3 or 4 A.D.

From the foregoing considerations, therefore, it seems to me that the portraits of Gaius and Lucius at Corinth are to be dated within a comparatively short period immediately following the death of Gaius in 4 A.D. If, however, such exactitude be objected to on the ground of insufficient evidence, it will be readily admitted that the portraits must at least fall between the years 1 and 14 A.D.

In conclusion I must draw the reader's attention to several very interesting points of style discernible in these two works,—more particularly, of course, in the Gaius. It is quite apparent that in this statue we are to recognize an expression of the eclectic neo-Attic school, the working of which was so evident in the Corinthian Augustus;¹ we note the same athletic build and length of leg, the small head, and the rather schematic treatment of the folds of the remarkably well-moulded *chlamys* depending from the left arm. As to this drapery, I must note in passing that in my estimation its folds manifest most clearly the influence of clay modelling upon the marble technique, particularly in the rendering of the crumpled surface texture,—and herein is perhaps to be recognized a confirmation of the inference already drawn from the presence of *puntelli* on the left arm (cf. *supra*, pp. 343 f.), *i.e.*, that the statue was taken from a clay or plaster model with the assistance of some mechanical "pointing device."

Although the figure is rendered in a general style distinctly neo-Attic, it nevertheless shows certain variations from that norm which seem to me suggestive and well worthy of closer examination. It will be noted for example that the torso is heavier, more powerful, and of greater muscular development in proportion to the length of leg than is usual in neo-Attic work; the muscles stand out more clearly, are of firmer texture, more strongly modelled; the shoulders, though of great width, are sloping and heavy, and quite lacking in that square and slender angularity so characteristic of the school.² Moreover the groin-line, with the heavy roll of muscle just above the hip, is treated in totally different fashion, its curve more rounded and breaking sharply with the horizontal sinking at the hips, while the arms are proportionally shorter and more powerful. And, further, the figure as a whole possesses a certain sturdy, straightforward frankness of expression

¹ Cf. article on the Augustus, *A.J.A.* XXV, 1921, p. 154.

² Cf., for example, our Pl. X, with the male figure of the Orestes and Electra group in Naples.

far removed from the languid self-consciousness of the usual neo-Attic work.

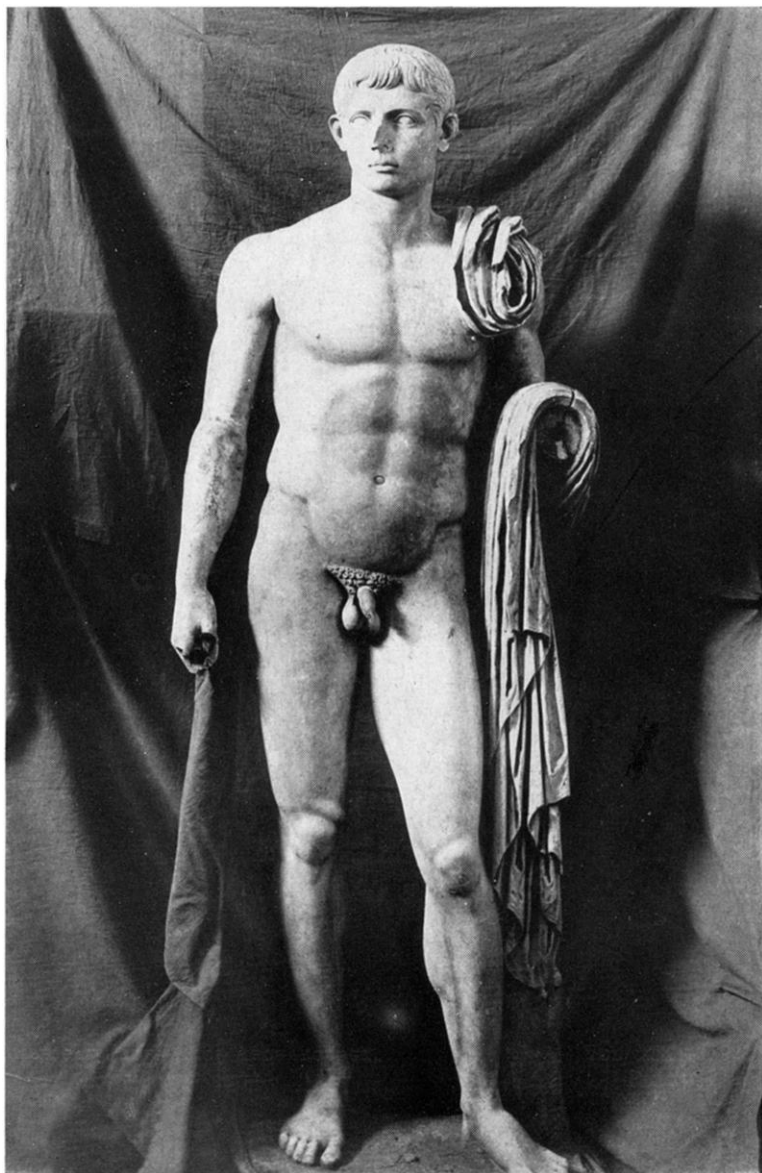
The source of these peculiarly distinctive variations from the norm, variations which serve to set apart these Corinthian statues from any neo-Attic work hitherto known, is not far to seek and might indeed have been predicted from the very geographic position of the city of Corinth. To make clear the source, therefore, it is scarcely necessary to suggest the comparison of the Corinthian statue with the Doryphorus in the Naples Museum.¹ The resemblance is so striking that it requires little comment. Due allowance having been made for the static pose and advanced left leg of the Gaius, together with the greater slenderness of the legs themselves and the smaller scale of the head, it is quite plain that the Corinthian figure was directly inspired by the famous work of Polyclitus. That this should be the case is not surprising. Although Polyclitus was himself an Argive, the schools of Argos and Sicyon seem always to have been closely united, and it is now well known that their common centre was transferred to Sicyon as early as the fourth century B.C.; further, it is quite logical to suppose that, as long as the art of sculpture continued alive in Greece, Sicyon remained the centre from which radiated the influence of the Peloponnesian athletic sculptors in bronze. Taking into account these circumstances, therefore, and recollecting also that the walls of Sicyon stood within sight of the ramparts of Corinth, we can scarcely wonder at the remarkable variation from type to be seen in the Corinthian Gaius; it is exactly what we might have expected. Although neo-Attic and eclectic it is characterized by the preponderant influence of the old Peloponnesian athletic canon. Indeed, this influence is to be traced even in details. For example, the head, though small, is covered with the close-fitting hair of the Polyclitan type, which in its stiff and accurate locks betrays clearly the influence of the bronze technique. The latter is plainly indicated also by the pronounced abdominal line. But enough has already been said to demonstrate my point.

These statues at Corinth, then—the Gaius, Lucius, and Augustus—prove the existence of the neo-Attic school in Greece. They show also that, in Corinth at least, the slender Lysippean canon of the school was considerably modified under the influence of the heavy Peloponnesian athletic type of the fifth century.

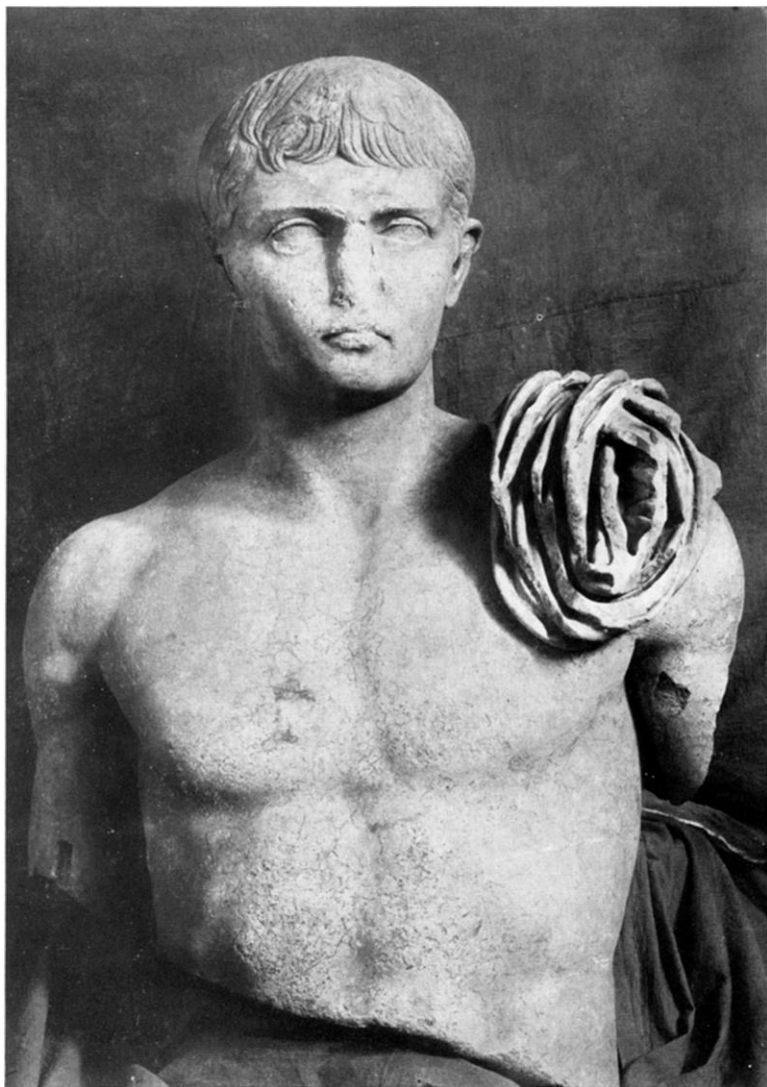
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¹ Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, taf. 273.



PORTRAIT STATUE OF GAIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.



PORTRAIT OF LUCIUS CAESAR: CORINTH.